

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 H-01 INR-10 PM-05
NSC-05 CIAE-00 PA-01 /065 W
-----088773 191007Z /15-S

R 190900Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
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USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
USEOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1795

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, CY
SUBJECT: KYPRIANOU'S RIVALS: IMPLICATIONS FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT

REF: PARA 3, STATE 177493 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: GREEK CYPRIOT POLITICIANS' POSITIONS ON PRESIDENT
KYPRIANOU'S CYPRUS POLICY ARE MOSTLY BASED ON DOMESTIC POLITICS.
NO LEADING POLITICAL FIGURE, EXCEPT CLERIDES, ESPOUSES A POLICY
THAT WOULD LEAD TO AN EARLY SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.
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1. IN ASSESSING DURATION AND IMPACT OF CURRENT OPEN EXPRESSIONS
OF DISSATISFACTION WITH PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU'S STRATEGY
AND TACTICS IN HANDLING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, IT IS
IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MID THAT IN CYPRUS PERSONALITIES
AND POLITICAL AMBITION ARE OFTEN MORE IMPORTANT THAN
ISSUES. PRIMARY INTEREST OF ALL MAJOR POLITICAL FIGURES

IS TO MAXIMIZE PERSONAL AND PARTISAN POLITICAL POWER IN CONTROLLING GOC AFFAIRS, BOTH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL. POSITIONS ON HOW CYPRUS PROBLEM SHOULD BE APPROACHED, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, ARE DESIGNED MORE TO ACHIEVE THE LARGEST POSSIBLE FOLLOWING IN THE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY THAN TO PROMOTE A PRACTICAL SOLUTION.

2. IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT NO IMPORTANT POLITICIAN, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF CLAFKOS CLERIDES, BELIEVES AN ACCEPTABLE, EARLY SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM CAN BE FOUND THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. AS A RESULT, THE PUBLIC POSITIONS OF THE MAIN ACTORS HAVE A MAINLY NEGATIVE IMPACT ON ANY HOPE FOR REAL MOVEMENT ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM ITSELF.

3. GLAFKOS CLERIDES IS THE MOST OPEN OF ALL POLITICIANS IN HIS OPPOSITION TO THE KYPRIANOU ADMINISTRATION. HE IS QUITE COMFORTABLE IN THIS ROLE DESPITE THE SLIGHT STIGMA THAT ATTACHES TO ANY GREEK CYPRIOT POLITICIAN WHO DOES NOT GIVE AT LEAST TOKEN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT TO THE IDEAL OF "UNITY." ALL PARTIES, EXCEPT LYSSARIDES AND TO A LESSER EXTENT AKEL, CONCEDE THAT CLERIDES IS WELL-MOTIVATED AND WOULD LIKE CLERIDES TO "JOIN THEM" IN A SUBORDINATE ROLE. WE EXPECT THAT CLERIDES WILL CONTINUE IN HIS OPEN, MODERATE WAY TO PRESS FOR RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS (AND ON DOMESTIC FRONT FOR PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION). HE MAY HAVE SOME DIFFICULTY IN KEEPING THE MORE ACTIVIST MEMBERS CONFIDENTIAL

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OF HIS DEMOCRATIC RALLY PARTY FROM TAKING A HARSHER LINE IF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IS SLOW IN COMING.

4. TASSOS PAPADOPOULOS' OPPOSITION IS CONCENTRATED ON THE PERSON OF PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU AND THE LATTER'S HANDLING OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. BOTH MEN ARE HAWKS ON THE SUBSTANCE OF A SOLUTION. PAPADOPOULOS HAS SEIZED ON KYPRIANOU'S APPARENT BACKING AWAY FROM THE APRIL 1977 GREEK CYPRIOT PROPOSALS AS EVIDENCE THAT KYPRIANOU HAS FORSAKEN MAKARIOS' POLICIES IN A THINLY-VEILED ATTEMPT TO GATHER SOME OF THOSE WHO FORMERLY SUPPORTED MAKARIOS AROUND HIMSELF. PAPADOPOULOS WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED MOSTLY BY POLITICAL AMBITION.

5. ARCHBISHOP CHRYSOSTOMOS FOLLOWS THE HARDEST LINE OF ALL MAJOR POLITICAL FIGURES. HE HAS RECENTLY SAID THAT THE GREEK FLAG WILL FLY AGAIN ON THE CHURCHES OF KYRENIA AND THAT THE HAND THAT SIGNS AN AGREEMENT WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WILL BE THE "HAND OF A TRAITOR." CHRYSOSTOMOS IS SUPPORTING KYPRIANOU POLITICALLY AT THE MOMENT. HE HAS AMBITIONS TO BE THE TITULAR AS WELL AS SPIRITUAL LEADER, HOWEVER, AND COULD TURN AGAINST KYPRIANOU ON

SHORT NOTICE. HE WILL CONTINUE TO BE A NEGATIVE INFLUENCE
ON ANY HOPES FOR PROGRESS IN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

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PM-05 NSC-05 CIAE-00 /065 W
-----089316 191057Z /16 S

R 190900Z JUL 78
FM AMEHBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8023
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6. AKEL, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, TRADITIONALLY HAS HAD
A POLICY OF PROMOTING UNITY BECAUSE ANY SERIOUS,
PUBLIC POLITICAL SPLIT IN THE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY
MIGHT COALESCE INTO A RIGHT/LEFT CONFRONTATION. AKEL
LEADERS FEAR, WITH REASON WE BELIEVE, THAT SUCH A
CONFRONTATION WOULD REVEAL THAT THE COMMUNITY IS
BASICALLY CONSERVATIVE. SO AKEL IS EMPHASIZING THE
NEED TO CONTINUE THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, AS A SOP TO
THE RIGHT, WHILE STILL SAYING THERE SHOULD BE MORE
INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEO. NET
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CONTRIBUTION OF AKEL -- NO HELP TO THOSE WHO WANT TO SEE PROGRESS.

7. DR. LYSSARIDES, HEAD OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, SUPPORTS PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU WHOLED-HEARTEDLY ON CYPRUS PROBLEM POLICY. LYSSARIDES IS ALMOST AS HARD AS CHRYSOSTOMOS AND IS PROMOTING THE CREATION OF A MILITIA WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF A MILITARY SOLUTION IN MIND, AS UNREASONABLE AS THAT SOUNDS. LYSSARIDES' STRENGTH IS AMONG THE YOUTH AND INTELLECTUALS, HE CAN BE COUNTED ON TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING THE "LONG STRUGGLE" DESPITE THE FACT THAT THAT POLICY WILL NOT PRODUCE A SOLUTION.

8. THE OLIGARCHY WHICH CONTROLS THE ECONOMY OF THE GOC REGARDS PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU'S POLICIES AND ACTIONS ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WITH SOME DISDAIN BUT PROBABLY WILL NOT OPPOSE HIM ACTIVELY AS LONG AS THE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO PROSPER. FOR THIS GROUP THE PRESENCE OF ANDREAS PATSALIDES AS MINISTER OF FINANCE IS A SYMBOL THAT INSURES THAT A "SOUND" ECONOMIC POLICY -- ONE THAT PROMOTES THEIR INTERESTS -- IS BEING FOLLOWED. ON BALANCE THIS GROUP PROBABLY WOULD LIKE TO SEE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TO FURTHER STABILIZE THE ECONOMY BUT THIS WOULD MONLY BE OF SECONDARY INTEREST TO THEM. IN SUM, THIS POWERFUL GROUP HAS LITTLE POSITIVE IMPACT ON EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

9. REFUGEES FORM THE ONLY IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF GREEK CYPRIOT SOCIETY WHICH HAS A VESTED INTEREST IN A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. BUT AS A GROUP THEY HAVE STOOD TOGETHER ON THE POLICY THAT ALL MUST RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU AND HIS ASSOCIATES HAVE PICKED THIS THEME UP IN AN ACTIVE COURTSHIP OF THIS GROUP IN AN EFFORT

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TO BUILD GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT FOR THE RELATIVELY NEW (1976) DEMOCRATIC PARTY. AS LONG AS THERE IS NO REAL POSSIBILITY FOR RETURN OF A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF REFUGEES, SUPPORT FOR THE KYPRIANOU ANTI-NEGOTIATION POLICY WILL REMAIN STRONG. IF ANY SINGLE REFUGEE GROUP, SAY THOSE FROM VAROSHA, SAW THAT THEY MIGHT RETURN HOME EVEN AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS, THIS MIGHT CHANGE AND THE UNITED REFUGEE FRONT COULD EASILY COLLAPSE.

10. OUR CONCLUSION IS THAT ALMOST NO MAJOR POLITICAL FIGURE OR FACTION, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CLERIDES, IS INCLINED OR WILLING TO EFFECTIVELY OPPOSE KYPRIANOU'S

POLICY OF AVOIDING MOVEMENT TOWARD A FEASIBLE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. CLERIDES AND PAPADOPOULOS AND, TO SOME EXTENT, THE OLIGARCHY WILL CONTINUE TO OPPOSE KYPRIANOU BUT HIS CYPRUS POLICY WILL NOT, WE THINK, CAUSE HIM TO FALL FROM POWER. THE LIKELIHOOD IS FOR A CONTINUATION OF A LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR APPROACH TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

NOTE: FOREGOING ANALYSIS WAS DRAFTED PRIOR TO RECENT DISMISSAL OF PAPADOPOULOS AND ALLEGATIONS OF A CONSPIRACY.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ELECTION CANDIDATES, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978NICOSI01795
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780296-0128
Format: TEL
From: NICOSIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780743/aaaabjxc.tel
Line Count: 238
Litigation Code IDs:
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Litigation History:
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Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 PARAMARIBO 3, 78 STATE 177493
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1956696
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KYPRIANOU'S RIVALS: IMPLICATIONS FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, CY, (KYPRIANOU, SPYROS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e8c3b370-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014